Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

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Bomber chief told

WHY WE MARCH TO YOUR H-BASE

"IT is the policy of our Government that we are protesting against. We are walking to your base as a symbol, for we are informed that H-bomb test flights do in fact take place from Brize Norton."

The Commander of the US Air Force base at Brize Norton received this letter last week from the Oxford committee planning the two-day march to the H-base on Whit Sunday and Monday.

Colonel E. A. Loberg was told that the demonstration is not directed against his men and is in no way anti-American. In fact, points out the chairman of the March Committee, 22-year-old Richard Exley, the Brize Norton base is officially an RAF unit, only on lease to the US Air Force.

Mr. Exley and his young wife, Pam, have taken a leading part in this campaign. An older member of the group is Will Warren, a linotype operator from Thame, and a member of the Society of Friends.

Will Warren took a leading part in the Aldermaston march and the Vigil. He is organising a similar vigil outside the base. Although making no attempt to propagandise the troops, his party will be ready and willing to answer questions from any of the American servicemen.

Will Warren talks in terms of "having a concern" and appealing to "the God in them."

He will take the first shift of the vigil, together with the secretary of the group, 21-year-old Lionel Cliffe, a clerk in an Oxford charitable organisation and a member of the Oxford City Labour Party.

Whether Oxford undergraduates will support the march has yet to be seen. They are a little shy of public demonstrations—as Aldermaston showed—and there are university regulations to be considered.

Not anti-American

Also some of them still believe that the march is "anti-American."

The Committee's declaration should put paid to that idea.

"We believe that the retention of the H-bomb by any country is a menace to humanity and to use it would be contrary to the teachings of Christ, the dictates of reason, and the well-being of humanity.

"You and your staff," they told Colonel Loberg, "are under orders from your superior officers and we do not think you are insensible to the problems we raise.

"We are walking to Brize Norton as a protest against the manufacture, testing, storing and use of this weapon and also against the bomb being taken on test flights."

They have asked for an interview with the Commander to explain their beliefs and motives, but so far have had no reply.

Considerable support

Twenty-three-year-old Leslie Durham is a conscientious objector, like Lionel Cliffe. A designer who decorated the startling Co-op. shop window display during Oxford's recent anti-nuclear campaign, he has now produced thousands of leaflets for the march. Publicity is not easy, for the group has very little money to hand.

However, they are expecting considerable support from other parts of the country, notably Cheltenham, where 20-year-old April Carter, a member of the national Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War and organiser of the Aldermaston Vigil, is raising a large party.

Miss Carter recently returned from Hamburg where she took part in an anti-H-bomb vigil as the representative of the Direct Action Committee.

Among the speakers expected during the march are Dr. Alex Comfort, Gene Sharp, Assistant Editor of Peace News, and Charles Taylor, the young Fellow of All Souls who edits Universities and Left Review.

There will be strong support from the city Labour Party, notably Coun. Edmund Gibbs, the group's Treasurer, and his wife, Coun. Olive Gibbs, Chairman of the local party.

These two alone symbolise the variety of convictions within the group. Olive Gibbs is a convinced pacifist, and Edmund, an ex-serviceman, is not.

Nothing is going to stop them marching. As one of them said: "I'm going if I have to walk on my own." And the rest of them feel the same way.

The March begins on Whit Sunday at 10.15 a.m. with a rally in St. Giles, Oxford, and finishes with a rally at the H-base at 2.30 p.m. the following day.

Offers of help and enquiries should be sent to the Secretary of the Organising Committee: Lionel R. Cliffe, 32 Leckford Road, Oxford.

Nuclear Disarmament . . .

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN

By our Political Correspondent—page 5

Reports of speeches by

EARL RUSSELL
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SIR RICHARD ACLAND

THE MASS LOBBY

ESCAPISM THREATENS HUMANITY

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Forthcoming meetings

Pacifists rally tomorrow

"CHALLENGE OF THE H-BOMB"

A YOUNG student who has been drawing large crowds in Hyde Park will be putting the pacifist case against the H-bomb at a rally in Trafalgar Square tomorrow afternoon (Saturday) beginning at 3.30 p.m.

She is Carol Taylor, of King's College, London, 19-year-old Chairman of the new London pacifist youth group.

Speaking with her in the Square will be Leslie Hale, MP, Stuart Morris, the Rev. Clifford Macquire of Edinburgh, and Canon T. B. Scrutton.

The meeting is organised jointly by the Peace Pledge Union, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, The Friends Peace Committee (Quakers), the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship and the Movement for a Pacifist Church.

"The fear of the consequences of reliance upon nuclear weapons has brought with it a great upsurge of public feeling against the H-bomb," Sybil Morrison, who is to chair the meeting, told Peace News on Tuesday.

"The demand to abandon nuclear weapons grows stronger and more insistent. "Pacifists, for many years, long before the atom bomb was used, have recognised that reliance upon war demands that each new invention should be used to make destructive weapons which would ensure victory.

"The crux of the whole matter lies just there, for even if nuclear weapons were to be abandoned now, if war should start, victory would be the only objective, and nuclear weapons, now that the formula is known, can be made again within a few months.

"To strike against war is, therefore, the fundamental need to-day; pacifists should rally to Trafalgar Square on Saturday and bring their friends to hear the pacifist case against the H-bomb."

Manchester preparing for march on London

"WE hope to give an impressive send-off in Manchester to a large contingent," say the Manchester Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in an appeal for support for the nation-wide march on London planned for June by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

At the request of groups in the provinces the date of the march has been deferred until Sunday, June 22. This will give more time for organised convoys of coaches and cars.

East Croydon (Park Lane) has been added to the assembly points in South London for the benefit of supporters from the South Coast travelling by rail.

Surveying of the eight routes into London is expected to be concluded by this weekend.

The Committee's offices are at 344 Seven Sisters Road, N.4, near Finsbury Park Station. Tel.: STA 7062.

MOTHER FASTS AT ATOM H.Q.

WITH her husband, a member of the crew of the H-bomb protest ship, Golden Rule, sentenced in Honolulu, Lilian Willoughby is fasting at the US Atomic Energy Commission offices in Germantown, Maryland.

With her making their protests against American H-bomb tests are 16 other Americans, 13 men and three women, including 70-year-old Helen Carson, another American Quaker. Also there are David Dellinger, an Editor of Liberation, Rev. Ernest Bromley, Jim Peck and Theodor Olsen.

Nine of the group have been there day and night since last Wednesday when they were first locked in as the AEC offices closed for the evening.

"They hope to wait there until responsible officials, preferably the Chairman of the AEC, Admiral Strauss, deal creatively with their concern," David Gale cabled Peace News on Tuesday.

"The group talked on Friday with Mr. John S. Graham, one of the five Atomic Energy Commissioners.

"The Atomic Energy Commission are friendly but not facing the issues," reported David Gale.

Before he sailed on the Golden Rule, George Willoughby went with his wife to the Nevada testing grounds with a group from Non-violent Action Against Nuclear War and demonstrated there as a bomb was exploded.

Quakers are looking after the Willoughbys' four children.

Crew sentenced—page 6

'End bases here'

A RESOLUTION welcoming the Labour Party and TUC campaign against H-bomb tests and for Summit talks, but regretting "that Labour has not clearly called upon Britain to end the manufacture of nuclear weapons, reliance on them, and the end of all bomb bases in these islands" is before the Labour Peace Fellowship Annual General Meeting on May 17.

Two MPs, Victor Yates and Leslie Hale, will be members of a Peace Brains Trust during the AGM which opens at 2.15 p.m. at the Caxton Hall.

Peacemakers, a US pacifist organisation, is to hold a three-week Training Programme in Non-violence—a combination of work, study, meditation, discussion and possibly action—at Woolmandale, Pennsylvania, from August 11-31.

Yes, sir, this is the slap-down, again!

By DOUGLAS ROGERS

Our contributor is a British journalist, now working on a West African newspaper.

SEVEN African elected members of the Kenya Legislative Council, including Tom Mboya, are preparing for their trial later this month. They are being charged with "criminal libel" and "conspiracy to commit a misdemeanour."

The trial will be all about what Mboya and colleagues did or did not say about Africans they thought were blacklegging on them and what they did or did not say means according to the law.

That is what it is all about in law. In common or garden fact, it is another trial of strength between blacks and whites. That is how millions of Africans in Kenya and all over the continent will regard it.

By a coincidence, too, on the very day law officers in Kenya were serving summonses on Mboya and company—as they arrived at Parliament Buildings—way across in Accra, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was opening the conference of eight independent African States and talking about the liberation of all Africa.

DEMOCRACY

A few weeks ago Tom Mboya was in Ghana helping them to celebrate their first year of independence.

If you read the European-owned papers in Kenya you will have some background of how the white oligarchy regard this coming trial.

They have long thought Tom Mboya and his colleagues were getting too big for their African boots. Just as they thought that Jomo Kenyatta and the Kenya African Union leaders were getting too big for *their* boots. And earlier, just as they thought that the Kikuyu Central Association leaders were getting too big for *their* boots. And earlier still, in 1922 to be precise, as they thought that the East African Association leaders were getting too big for *their* boots.

Yes, it's an old settler custom. When the natives get cocky, slap them down!

Yes, sir, this is the slap-down again!

The wonder is how these Africans keep coming back for more. Read the history of Kenya since the first world war. Africans organise. Leaders come up. Leaders slapped in jail. Organisations banned. Movement goes underground. New leaders come up. New organisations. Leaders arrested. Organisations banned. . .

Unless one believes in the Herrenvolk doctrine which led Hitler to ruin, one cannot seriously question the Africans' right to rule their country.—Dr. T. O Elias.

We told Mr. Lennox-Boyd there is only one road to democracy: one man—one vote.—Mr. Oginga Odinga.

From a recent London public meeting with Fenner Brockway, MP, and Rev. Michael Scott.

What these white Canutes apparently cannot even yet realise is that no one can hold back permanently the human urge to be free. Not even all that bloody mess of Mau Mau has taught the lesson.

The issue is very simple in Kenya. Fundamentally what the Africans want is democracy. Plain, simple democracy just as we have it here. And sooner or later they will have to get it.

A more enlightened European in Kenya, Mr. E. A. Vasey, former Minister of Finance, dared to say something of that sort. And the white caucus in the Legislative Council marshalled their forces and closed the ranks. Mr. Vasey is no longer a member of the Legislature!

The reason Africans do not like the new Lennox-Boyd constitution (which is supposed to last for ten years!) is that it still gives an overwhelming majority in the Legislative Council to Europeans.

They have elections for Africans now. But what good are elections when only *some* of the Africans are allowed to vote (by a complicated system of qualifications called the "qualitative franchise") for *some* of the seats? Under the communal system, *all* adult Europeans and *all* adult Asians get a vote for *their* candidates.

Who wants to be a third-rate voter, guaranteed by the constitution that you will always be a minority in the Parliament even though you belong to the majority in the country?

As if to draw another constitutional red herring across the scene, Lennox-Boyd invented a scheme to give each of the three main racial groups an additional four members. This time, he said, we will be equalitarian, four new members each.

Moreover, he said, we will have these extra 12 members (four to each racial group) elected on a non-racial basis. Multi-racial community stuff this! Said Lennox-Boyd: We won't have them elected by the electorate, we'll have them elected by the elected. What we'll do is to make the Legislative Council into an electoral college.

But, protested Mboya and colleagues, this means that the European majority in the Legislature will have the last word in selecting *all* the extra 12 members, Africans as well as Asians and Europeans.

The ungrateful fellows, no doubt being too simple to understand "democratic advance," said they would have nothing more to do with the constitution. They not only said they would refuse to vote for "specially elected" members, they said no self-respecting African ought to agree to be a candidate for them.

DANGEROUS STUFF

And they went further. They said that any African who agreed to stand for these phoney elections would reveal himself as a "stooge," as a "blackleg," and as a "quisling" to the African cause. And they also said (so it is alleged) that self-respecting Africans should not only boycott these "elections," they should boycott anyone who breaks the boycott. . .

That's what the trial is all about . . . "criminal libel" . . . "conspiracy to commit a misdemeanour" . . .

Dangerous stuff! You know it makes you think about the "dangerous agitators" who built the British Trade Union movement and the Labour Party.

And, of course, one of the "dangerous" things about Mboya is that, before he became a political leader, he had already become a trade union leader. So that although national political movements of Africans are still banned in Kenya you can never be too sure about this Mboya fellow. . .

Don't forget, too, he has just been to Ghana where that "dangerous agitator" Nkrumah is now the Prime Minister. God knows what ideas Mboya picked up in Accra!

Better get him inside, eh?

DO WE NEED H-BOMBS TO RESTRAIN AMERICA?

The strategy of Strachey

By EMRYS HUGHES, M.P.

"SCRAP all the H-bombs" is the title of Mr. John Strachey's pamphlet which has a foreword by Mr. Gaitskell.

"The pamphlet," says Mr. Gaitskell, "is not an official statement of policy, but it is, in the view of the National Executive Committee, a most useful background document which helps to explain the declaration and sets forth clearly many of the considerations which led to the formulation of Labour's policy."

In a front page article, "Keep all the H-bombs," the New Statesman (May 12, 1958) alleges that "Mr. Gaitskell first attempted to force upon the National Executive the Strachey pamphlet which presents a partisan case for a Big Bomb Britain—and frustrated in this has now issued it with a gushing foreword which contains one important and highly significant mis-statement. The pamphlet, says Mr. Gaitskell, 'in the view of the National Executive Committee . . . sets forth many of the considerations which led to the formation of Labour's policy.' On the contrary, the NEC has refused to give official endorsement to this pamphlet precisely because it travesties Labour policy and pointedly omits many of the considerations which led to its formulation."

The TUC has apparently not endorsed the Strachey pamphlet either.

It is not in any way an official Labour pamphlet, although it has been distributed by Transport House and has been prominently displayed at the Regional Party Conferences. It is only, to use the Gaitskell description, "a useful background."

So now let us have a look at the background—and its usefulness.

Blowing up Berlin

The background can be better understood against what Mr. Strachey, winding up for the Labour Party, said in the Defence Debate.

He asked the rhetorical question about what would happen if the Russians attacked us in Berlin. We would not retaliate immediately by dropping an H-bomb on Moscow, but would proceed to use conventional weapons including atomic nuclear weapons, which would presumably mean blowing up the Russians and ourselves—and the Germans in Berlin.

Why the Russians should choose to start a war by attacking Berlin is not clear. But Mr. Strachey sees the prospect of our soldiers there being ordered to commit suicide and doing it.

After examining the strategy of Mr. Strachey, there is a lot to be said from everybody's point of view of surrender. Somebody would at least remain alive, as did the soldiers who surrendered at Singapore.

But note what Mr. Strachey said about atomic nuclear weapons. This was a few weeks before the Labour Party leadership came out against nuclear weapons for Germany. Now the German objection to nuclear tactical weapons, which British Labour now supports, holds good whoever uses the nuclear tactical weapons. It affords no consolation to the people of Berlin to know that they would be destroyed by a British or an American atomic bomb rather than by a German one.

When I asked the Secretary for War if our forces in Berlin were armed with atomic nuclear weapons, he replied that our army in Berlin had none. So Mr. Strachey's exercise in Berlin was just nonsense.

Disengagement for Britain

If we are prepared to agree to no nuclear weapons for the Germans and a policy of disengagement for Germany, why should we not extend the idea to Great Britain?

After all, the Germans are nearer the Russians than we are. But the German Social Democrats would prefer to take the risk of Russian invasion to the risk of having an atomic war on German soil.

And on this the leaders of the Labour Party support the German Socialists.

But what about ourselves? If we are prepared to ask the Germans to take these risks, why should we not be prepared to take them in Britain?

Mr. Strachey, however, wants us to keep our H-bomb as a bargaining counter.

He tells us: "This argument as to the necessity of preserving Britain's power to do good in the world is often put by saying that if we disarmed on our own we should cease to have any restraining influence over America."

So the more H-bombs we have, the more we will be able to restrain the Americans! Mr. Strachey, too, shudders at the thought of Mr. Bevan going into a conference naked. He would look more decent carrying an H-bomb.

Mr. Strachey has already told us that "nine-tenths of the H-bombs in existence are not in our hands but in the hands of other nations."

Restraining America

At this point one wonders whether Mr. Strachey is in favour of spending much more money making bigger and more destructive H-bombs so that we will be able to influence America for good much better.

Our possession of the H-bomb certainly did not influence America—or Russia—at the time of the Suez crisis.

But if Labour is to go in for an H-bomb strategy to restrain the Americans, it will certainly cost a lot of money. Nuclear weapons are expensive, and if we are to arm our Army, Navy and Air Force with them and join in the missiles and rocket race (for in the Air Estimates Debate Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas said the Americans were only supplying us with "old junk"), the next Labour Government will have to budget for a heavy bill for defence. (That is probably why at Glasgow Mr. Harold Wilson, Labour's Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, was careful to dissociate himself from Mr. Strachey's theories.)

A Russian occupation?

But while Mr. Strachey wants us to have H-bombs to restrain the Americans, he tells us: "Yet we must face the fact that with neither nuclear weapons nor American support we could not possibly resist Russian pressure nor ultimately Russian occupation."

One wonders whether Mr. Strachey really believes that there would be a Russian occupation of Britain if we dropped our H-bomb strategy and ceased to have H-bombs and bombers and rockets which the Russians regard as a menace to them.

We are in danger from the Russians because we have A-bombs and H-bombs and not because we haven't them.

What objective could the Russians have in occupying a Britain which was not hostile to them and with which Russia wished to trade? No; the danger from Russia comes just because we have become America's main strategic bombing base in Western Europe. When we cease being that there would be no reason for Russia to bring pressure on us or invade us.

Mr. Strachey has fallen back on Mr. Sandys' arguments and the old Tory bogey, having started by telling us that we need the H-bomb to restrain the Americans, he conjures up the nightmare of a Russian invasion. If this is the position, why is Mr. Strachey against the Germans having the H-bomb—to restrain the Americans in case they take rash action which would result in the destruction of Germany, and to resist Russian pressure?

Sandys & Strachey

Mr. Strachey is involved in a conglomeration of contradictions. If these are the ideas on which the Labour Party is to base its defence and foreign policy, one can understand Mr. Duncan Sandys telling a Tory Conference that on defence the leaders of the Labour Party are 99.9 per cent. sound.

If we are to have an H-bomb strategy, why should Labour boggle at the tests and at the flights of the H-bombers over Britain?

No wonder that there have been objections to the pamphlet being called "Scrap all the H-bombs." Mr. Strachey's arguments are for retaining them, not for scrapping them. One expects to see the Tory Central Office coming out with a new pamphlet "Scrap all the H-bombs now," by Duncan Sandys, just before the General Election.

The Tories could do it cheaper if they sent over to Transport House and borrowed some of Mr. Strachey's type.

War would kill 50%

"It seems very improbable that if an all-out war were to begin between the US and the Soviet Union it could be stopped before it had killed either by direct explosion or by fall-out, perhaps 90 per cent of the population of the Northern Hemisphere, although it is possible that much of Asia and Africa might escape relatively unscathed."

—Prof. C. H. Waddington, Prof. of Animal Genetics, Edinburgh, writing in The Scotsman, May 1.

Soper calls for end to war

A LOUDLY applauded call for united action through the National Peace Council to get rid, not only of nuclear weapons, but of war itself was made by Dr. Donald Soper when he wound up the Council's Fiftieth Anniversary meeting in Friends House, London, recently.

With him on the platform were Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the Labour Party, who said he was glad to be present and give his personal tribute to the work of the National Peace Council, Dr. Rita Hinden, and Gerald Bailey, who spoke of the changing nature of peace organisations in the past 50 years from a small, rather eclectic, liberal group to a broad, popular movement of all humanity. Reginald Sorenson, MP, was in the chair.

MISSILE BASES DANGEROUS
—Lowestoft council

BY 16 votes to 11, the Lowestoft Town Council recently passed a resolution viewing "with grave disquiet" the proposal to set up missile bases in East Anglia.

The resolution added that ". . . while recognising that this matter is rightfully one upon which the central Government must exercise the final responsibility, it feels that the establishment of these bases must gravely prejudice the successful outcome of the Summit talks."

It also pointed to the economic danger of the bases to the area. It was passed after a long debate on a letter from the East Anglian Federation of Women for Peace and the King's Lynn Nuclear Disarmament Committee urgently requesting the Council to protest to the Government against the setting up of rocket bases.

Defence fund for Kenya jailed

A Trial Defence Fund has been established for the seven African Elected Members of the Kenya Legislative Council charged with "criminal libel and conspiracy to commit a misdemeanour." The fund, whose sponsors include Fenner Brockway, MP, Rev. Michael Scott, Commander T. Fox-Pitt, and Lord Altrincham, has been established by the Committee of African Organisations. The sponsors want the African Members to "have advocates in Court of their own choice, who are men accustomed to plead on issues of great importance. We do not ask that those who subscribe should pre-judge the case, any more than we have done ourselves." Contributions may be sent to the Kenya Trial Defence Fund, 65 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.

See also page Two.

Two Peace News Supplements:

THIS WAS ALDERMASTON

The fully illustrated report of the Easter march to the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment

5s. a doz., 25s. a 100 post free (6d. each plus 2d. postage)

PEACE OR ATOMIC WAR?

By Dr. Albert Schweitzer

The full text of his Oslo broadcasts in April

3d. each (postage 2d.) 3s. a doz. 21s. a 100 post free

PEACE NEWS

3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

If an H-bomb hit London...

MERVYN JONES AT GUILDFORD MEETING.

From a Correspondent

NEARLY 300 people of different political and religious groups attended the first public meeting of Guildford's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at the Congregational Church Hall at Guildford on Monday, May 5.

The meeting, advertised as "End this Nuclear Madness," was organised by Mr. Len Clark, secretary of the local committee of the campaign.

There were three speakers—A. J. P. Taylor, tutor of modern history at Oxford and also a TV star; Mervyn Jones, novelist and journalist; and James Topping, PhD, formerly principal of Guildford Technical College.

Mr. Mervyn Jones said:

"We know that an H-bomb dropped on the middle of London would kill everyone within a radius of five miles and destroy the health of 26,000,000 others. We know that six H-bombs dropped all over the country would put an end to all social life."

Then Mr. Jones said that he would tell a make-believe story of the circumstances which would befall an ordinary family should a bomb be dropped on London.

"A bomb falls on London . . . that's the end of London. Everyone is dead. If by a miracle they are not, no one will be able to get them out for at least a year. The city is totally destroyed, and the buildings, no matter how strongly built, will be on the ground.

"We will take an ordinary Guildford family. It's a fine summer evening. The two children are playing in the garden. Father is reading his newspaper in an armchair in the lounge.

Blind and burnt

"Suddenly there is a shock like an earthquake. Father looks up to see what has happened and goes to his wife who is standing in the garden hanging out the washing. She is blind—caught by the flash as she was looking up into the sky.

"This fortunately is a temporary blindness.

"The people who could have normally helped in this situation—the policemen on point duty, the anti-aircraft men, and the Civil Defence personnel—are useless. They're blind too.

"And the wife isn't only blind—her face is covered with burns. The father goes into the house to fetch some ointment to apply to the burns which he hopes will ease them. But it doesn't—the burns, like scald blisters, will get worse and will leave terrible permanent scars.

"The father looks round the house. There is not much damage but the windows are broken. Other old buildings are down.

"Then a lot of small fires have broken out. Unfortunately the fire brigade have been called to Woking, where thousands of people will be under piles of rubble.

"The father takes another look round; he finds there is no gass and water. The effect of the blast has burst the pipes. He thinks he will ring his mother, who lives nearer to London, to see if she knows what's going on. The 'phone is dead. He turns on the radio—there's bound to be someone explaining it all, he thinks. But the radio is dead too. There is no electricity.

"The father goes out into the garden and finds that a light ash is falling everywhere. Some of it falls on his face, and he notices that it irritates . . . it's radio active.

Food contaminated

"He decides that he must get his family out of Guildford and go north. So he puts them into his car and on the way he calls at the hospital to see if they can do anything for his wife. But it's overcrowded.

"They start on their journey, but soon they find that everyone else wants to go north too. The roads are completely jammed. Nobody knows where to go or where is safe. Then he runs out of petrol, but he can't get any more because supplies have run out. The children are hungry, so they settle down to a good meal of tinned food they have brought with them. Then everyone has to get out of their cars and start walking.

"This will be a new experience for English people—to be refugees in their own country.

"By now there is no more food. All that was in the shops has been sold or is contaminated. There's no more food coming in as bombs have been dropped on all the ports.

"The children go into a field and start eating blackberries before their father can warn them they are contaminated. Soon one child is rather poorly. He starts vomiting and complaining of acute pains in the eyes and head. His gums start to bleed.

"The wife is in terrible pain from her burns. Then the other child is ill. They don't know whether it's from radio activity or just tiredness and hunger. It so happens that the child has got a cold or 'flu. There is no way of preventing such diseases from spreading now that all services are disrupted. Polio in particular would spread like wildfire.

Only defence—peace

"All this time the father should have been slogging away in his factory. He can't now and nor can anyone else. Half the population is dead, others are ill. No one can do anything in the hospitals as they have all been hit. The healthy people are not sufficient to look after those who are ill and to bury the dead.

"Now all social activity in England has been stopped. They need not drop any more bombs. But why should they stop now? Why shouldn't they drop a hundred bombs and finish us off completely? Need I go on?

"The choice is not whether you fight or whether you surrender. This is totally irrelevant in our present circumstances. There is no such thing as the defence of this country except peace—except by not having a war."

The meeting ended with a resolution put forward by the chairman the Rev. D. Bell. It read: "We urge the Governments of Britain, Russia and America to stop the testing, manufacture and storing of all nuclear weapons immediately." Of the entire audience only eight were against the resolution.

A collection at the meeting realised £32.

A programme of film shows, debates and meetings has been arranged for the immediate future.

Britain drifting to hell—Acland

BRITAIN'S policy on nuclear arms was one with which the country was drifting to hell and death and which was losing friends among the world's nations, Sir Richard Acland said in Battersea last week.

Sir Richard, chief speaker at a meeting of the Battersea branch of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, declared: "We cannot improve the situation by doubling, trebling or even multiplying our nuclear arms by 100.

"It won't have the slightest difference on the nations in Asia, Africa and the Middle East who are moving gradually towards the Russians."

The West's lack of concern at this aspect had astounded him. There was no doubt that Russia was winning the cold war.

Britain's reputation had been damaged by Suez and Cyprus and she could not redeem this except with an unequivocal act of giving up nuclear weapons.

"I don't deny the risk," said Sir Richard. "Americans in their anger might wash their hands of us and another serious aspect is one of Russian pressure. It could possibly even be as bad as Russian occupation.

"But we have to make up our minds not to drift to the end of hell and the deep, which is where Mr. Macmillan and all other practical men are taking us," he added.

Jailed on a Pacific island

CREW OF GOLDEN RULE SENTENCED TO SIXTY DAYS IN JAIL THIS AFTERNOON FOR CRIMINAL CONTEMPT.

This cable to Peace News from Philadelphia and an earlier one announcing the arrest was immediately passed through to the headquarters of the War Resisters' International and other key people.

Out in Honolulu a friend of the arrested men stands by with Transferred Account facilities which will enable him to cable reports at our expense, right up to our press time. The captain of the Golden Rule had the same facility.

The four men imprisoned on an island in the Pacific know that there is close contact with sympathisers all over the world. This is where the Peace News Fund comes in, helping us to play a vital part in getting news of activity against nuclear war to opinion-makers and policy-formers everywhere.

Our Fund is critically low, but never have we used our resources for a more noble purpose. Send a contribution to-day and ensure that these international links are maintained at such a critical time. The need is urgent.

THE EDITOR.

The P.N. Fund

Contributions since May 2: £88 13s 5d.
Donations since Feb. 1: £403 17s. 9d.
Still needed: £1,596.

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PROTEST MEETING TO HEAR HUDDLESTON

The recorded voice of Father Trevor Huddleston, CR, will be heard, and George Thomas, MP, and Max Parker, Gen. Sec., the Fellowship of Reconciliation, will speak at a protest meeting against Apartheid, organised by the Bristol University Assegai Society, in the Central Hall, Old Market, Bristol, on May 17 at 7.15 p.m.

Free tickets from The SPCK Bookshop, 8 Park St., Bristol.

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Somebody is lying

WE are becoming well used to the lies and evasions of the US Atomic Energy Commission—such of them, that is, that time has revealed. It would seem that the US Strategic Air Command has also its uses for that necessary military auxiliary, the lie.

When the recent disclosures were made about the flights of H-bomb loaded aeroplanes towards the Russian Arctic coastline it was said that as a result of misread signs on the radar screen such flights had taken place not once or twice but many times.

This is now denied by no less a person than the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Strategic Air Command, Lieut.-General Griswold. Operational bombers, he says, with their weapons aboard, have never been ordered into the air. Not only has the world been misinformed about the flights setting out for Russia, but there are no patrol flights of bombers loaded with H-bombs. Those aircraft that are kept on the alert at instant readiness are not in the air but on the ground.

The information now given by General Griswold is interesting as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. If the earlier statements were untrue why were they put out? Was the intention to produce the Russian protest in order to follow it up with a renewal of the Arctic inspection proposal? Has the whole manœuvre been a bit of diplomatic guile?

These statements, incidentally, did not end with that first disclosure. After the Russian protest, basing his article on the very considerable briefing distributed to the Press by the SAC, Mr. Philip Deane remarked in the Observer that loaded bombers had twice taken off as a result of a false alarm.

Then there was the comment of Mr. Dulles that the acceptance by Russia of the proposal for the international inspection of the Arctic would make it possible for the US to reduce these flights.

'The pumpkin'

IT so happens also that on the very day that General Griswold's current pronouncement was published here The Times was reproducing an article on the US bombers in Britain by Mr. George Barratt in the New York Times Magazine, and according to him there are occasions when the British-based US bombers are flying loaded with H-bombs. The H-bomb itself is referred to by the bomber crews as "The Weapon" or "The Beast" when they are not jocularly calling it "The Pumpkin."

Mr. Barratt says specifically that "each crew switches its operation to fly at times without the 'Weapon,' at times with an exact duplicate of 'The Weapon' in shape and size but with a cement block for a warhead, and at times with 'The Beast' itself lock-chained in the bomber's belly."

Unless General Griswold's statement implies that while there are flights of loaded H-bombers over Britain there are no such flights from bases in the US it would seem that a further clarification is required from the SAC. Perhaps we could now have a pronouncement from the Commander-in-Chief himself.

Official crime

ALL the circumstances surrounding the execution of the three young French soldiers by the Algerians are degrading to humanity: equally the character of the Algerian action and the French reaction.

These three men, soldiers made prisoner in the course of war, have been executed on charges of resorting to torture, rape and murder. Whether it is claimed that each of these men was guilty of all three of these crimes or whether they were distributed among them—or whether indeed they were called upon to suffer a vicarious punishment for crimes that have unquestionably been committed by Frenchmen—we do not know. It is even possible that they had been killed before the sentences had been pronounced and the reported date of their execution.

The FLN some time ago expressed its willingness to have the circumstances in which it held its prisoners of war kept under inspection by the International Red Cross. In contradiction to this, however, it has threatened that it would reply to executions carried out by the French upon Algerians by reprisals against Frenchmen in its hands. In the last number of *El Moudjahid*, its organ, there occurred the threat: "Let French opinion be warned: from tomorrow each Algerian patriot who mounts the scaffold signifies that a French prisoner will also be put to death."

No moral right

THE French authorities indignantly repudiate that they execute Algerians who are taken prisoner as soldiers. It is only those who have engaged in acts of terrorism to whom they deny the quality of combatant and apply the capital penalty. Nevertheless, there have been Algerian soldiers executed on charges of earlier acts of terrorism although they have been made prisoners as soldiers, and outside opinion is no more able to test whether these charges have been genuine than it is whether the charges of past rape and torture against the young Frenchmen are genuine.

The deplorable M. Lacoste makes a pronouncement in which he declares that "once again the FLN shows its savagery and its total contempt for the life of prisoners"; and a French official statement speaks of the trials as a parody of justice.

Those who have made themselves acquainted with the nature of the proceedings in the trial of Djamila Bouhired will be aware how little moral right the French authorities in Algeria have to level such a charge.

It is true that in the face of a powerful movement of public opinion this death sentence was not carried out, but the nature of the proceedings at her trial have naturally raised questions as to what has happened in the French military courts in Algeria when the trials have received no such publicity.

An indication of the pitiful mentality that is brought to matters of this seriousness is to be found in the posthumous award to these three young soldiers of the military medal. They have been prisoners since November, 1956, without having received such an award.

Such a decision after their executions will carry with it nothing of consolation to the bereaved families of these men, for they will know that the awards will not have been conferred as a mark of honour, but as a childish demonstration against the Algerian enemy.

Unbalanced

"WHAT prevents war is the balance of power," said Mr. Macmillan at his Primrose League meeting at the Albert Hall. We wonder how many of his hearers meditated on the fact that this blessed phrase "balance of power," so frequently appealed to before the two world wars, had nevertheless failed to prevent either, just as it had failed to prevent the many eighteenth century wars culminating in the Napoleonic wars.

Mr. Macmillan explained what is meant by the "balance of power," and in so doing disclosed to all whose memories can recall the attitudes of the day before yesterday what a piece of cant the phrase is.

"Peace has been preserved so far," he said, "not because the West has disarmed but because the present balance is roughly equal."

Obviously a balance must be "roughly equal," but it is not and never has been the policy of any of the powers. When Sir Winston Churchill made his Fulton speech and declared that the safety of the West was protected by the American monopoly of the A-bomb he was not congratulating the Western peoples on a roughly equal balance but on the fact that the preponderance of power was on their side.

When, taking the lead in the creation of the H-bomb, Mr. Dulles and the other Western statesmen have urged their peoples to aim at "negotiation from strength"; it is not a roughly equal balance that they have desired but the greater strength behind their own diplomacy.

With the development of nuclear weapons by the Russian Government and its achievement of the lead in missiles, the scales have been tipped the other way and we are once again exhorted to aim at a balance of power. No power is ever satisfied with the achievement of a balance. No statesman—however much like Mr. Macmillan he may assert that what prevents war is the balance of power—ever calls for more arms for the other side when the balance has tipped in his own favour. Should the Western Powers find it possible to reach some more devastating instrument of death than the Russians' inter-continental missiles their governments will not refrain from equipping themselves with them because the prevention of war depends on the maintenance of the balance of power.

A "balance of power" is not a piece of political realism. It is just a phrase with which politicians seek to delude their followers, and—more dangerously still—themselves.

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ESCAPISM THREATENS HUMANITY

THE H-BOMB IS SO IMMENSE A THREAT to the world that men, just in order to get on with living, erect a mental barricade against it.

Whether or not they and their children will have a future, they must, to keep their sanity, pursue their ambitions as if the future were assured.

They plan their lives, take out long-term insurance policies, begin courses of study, save money, and build houses, offices and factories.

Meanwhile each month it grows more probable that the insane threat will be carried out.

This mental barricade is natural and necessary. But it is highly dangerous. We deliberately obscure the basic facts about this threat when it is imperative that our decisions be truly founded on reality.

This applies to the way men and women—both pacifists and opponents of pacifism—talk about war as if our experience up to 1945 provides any guide as to what we shall have to face in the future.

★ ★

WE ALL KNOW THIS IS NOT SO. We all know that the threat over all of us is overwhelmingly more terrible than the events which have hitherto horrified us: Guernica, Coventry, Hamburg—even Hiroshima.

To keep our peace of mind day by day we have to keep this knowledge in the background. But—even though we could not live with that knowledge 24 hours a day and keep our sanity—it is necessary for us resolutely to face it if we presume to propound policy, whether in Parliament, from the platform or pulpit, or in the Press.

A symbol of this mental barrier against facing reality is the word "deterrent," so beloved by the Bishops. This word is a plea, "Don't force me to think this thing through to the end."

The mind works: The thing we are having men make is a deterrent. Therefore, it will not be used. Therefore, there is no need to think about the position of anyone being told to use it.

★ ★

BUT THE LOGIC IS NOT SOUND. For if it is certain the H-bomb will not be used, it cannot be a deterrent.

By such escapist logic, all anyone has done is to flee from thinking two steps ahead in the nuclear course he is advocating.

If found guilty of such escapism in ordinary life we would be ashamed of it.

Professor C. H. Waddington—who last month met with several leading scientists in Canada to discuss the problems created by nuclear weapons—says in The Scotsman* that the group of scientists did not know whether there were now enough of these weapons stockpiled that if all exploded they would make the entire earth impossible for human life.

But those scientists felt that even if this point had not yet been reached, within a few years it would be.

★ ★

"ONE BOMB GONE, ONE CITY GONE" is the reported comment of the H-bomber crews who practise with the bomb. But even that is an understatement.

A single hydrogen bomb has greater explosive power than the total of all the bombs and all the ammunition dropped from all the aeroplanes flown by all the belligerents during the whole six years of World War II.

The scientists of whom Prof. Waddington writes calculated that a nuclear war between the US and Russia could probably not be stopped until, directly or indirectly, some 90 per cent of all the people in the Northern Hemisphere had been destroyed.

But these scientists are assuming that there would be a common effort to stop a nuclear war if it started. This is, we believe, a great deal too optimistic.

A world in which H-bombs have been used by both sides will be a world mad with anger and fear. Men will no longer be able to calculate as they can in a game of chess.

If the issue of nuclear war is faced with a true sense of reality it is obvious that it will be a great deal better for the future of man if the "deterrent" is never used—even if that which it was to deter took place.

This can be seen, however, before the mind has become maddened by anger and fear. The moral is that men should decide against the deterrent while they are not in a psychopathic condition that must prevent them from doing so.

AND THAT MEANS ABANDONING THE H-BOMB NOW.

***Enquiries about the pamphlet edition of his articles to The Scotsman, North Bridge, Edinburgh, Scotland.**

Labour Peace Fellowship
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
Caxton Hall (Tudor Room)
Westminster, London
Saturday, May 17, 1958

Business Meeting 2.15 to 4.40 p.m. Peace Brains Trust 5.15 to 7 p.m. with Victor Yates, MP, Leslie Hale, MP, James Hudson, Laurie Pavitt and Ron Huzzard.

Members of the Labour Party, Trade Unions and Co-ops. welcome. Further details from General Secretary, LPF, 24a, Brenkspears Road, London, S.E.4.

Nuclear disarmament: An assessment of the campaign

By our Political Correspondent

THE nuclear disarmament campaign is barely three months old. The most salutary and remarkable effect of the early stages was the panic it produced in the party headquarters.

It was the type of movement which career politicians most fear— a largely spontaneous and self-organised wave of protest on a single issue, which could neither be side-tracked nor readily exploited within existing party programmes, and which had a large element of moral indignation behind it.

LABOUR AND TORY

What really alarmed the leaderships was the discovery at Aldermaston,. that the unilateral disarmament platform, with minimal organisation, could put on a demonstration larger than any of the parties could have organised, could maintain it across country for several days, and could recruit large parts of its support from the floating vote —a demonstration which was big enough to withstand a Press campaign and too big to be boycotted or laughed off.

According to a recent Times article, the anxiety at the top had eased a little since then—less perhaps for the reasons given than because political leaders have grounds in experience for doubting the staying power of public demands, and believe time is on their side.

Within the Labour Party, the leadership has been forced to take some public action on the decisions reached at the last Labour Party Conference, if only to dispel the suspicion of private agreement with the Government: but nobody who has attended subsequent meetings is likely to consider that the hasty adoption of half-measures has either deceived or appeased the rank and file, with whom the Labour leaders are not much more popular than the Prime Minister.

Conservative reactions may be based on the experience of Suez; they recall that the wave of indignation was short-lived, and, since their chief anxiety is the abstention of "marginal" Tories, they may count upon diversions associated with a Summit meeting, and on the summer holidays, to see them through, with the announcement of a cessation of tests and a "clean" bomb as a last, and probably eve-of-election, resort—one which would, incidentally, make Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Bevan enter the election, in a nuclear sense, stark naked.

If this is really the Tory assessment, it illustrates once more the risks in any field of re-fighting past battles.

Unlike Suez, the movement against nuclear weapons is not an outburst of exasperation against a single unanticipated act of lunacy. It is the breaking into the open of an indignation which has been growing steadily from the time of Hiroshima, and which owes little or nothing to impulse.

The lack of immediate public reaction to the continuation of British bomb tests, and to Macmillan's studied arrogance in dismissing the conscience of at least half the country, should not be misread: what reaction, one wonders, did the Tory leadership expect—an outbreak of rioting?

THE PRESS

The campaign is at work all over the country at a grass-root level, through thousands of individuals, hundreds of street groups and dozens of meetings, and everywhere it is encountering anger and contempt against the policy, the men and the parties responsible for the "deterrent," which has to be heard to be credited.

The anger is not unanimous, but it is beginning to influence those who favour the policy. When the results of all this underground activity emerge into the open—not necessarily through spectacular marches and demonstrations—the relaxation in Whitehall and Great Smith St. may prove premature.

One of the chief successes of the campaign which has passed almost unnoticed by its organisers (though not by the Government) is its relatively easy victory over the Press, and the abandonment of any hope for the time being at least of stifling it by boycott, smear or zany tactics.

Even before the treatment of Aldermaston brought a heavy fallout from the readership on several editorial offices, it was clear that the Press was being no more successful than the parties in controlling public indignation.

The years of cold-war propaganda and of accusations of Communism against all dissidents have exhausted the credit of the influences which try to "form opinion," as much as that of the party hacks—they are widely disbelieved and universally distrusted.

DIRECT ACTION

The battle is, of course, far from being won. Those who organise a campaign which is without a rigid and professional machine are tackling a tough undertaking —one which proved too tough for the Chartists and almost too tough for the Suffragettes.

They are up against the most experienced confidence men in Europe: they cannot afford either a mistake or a resounding failure, and if they do not maintain the pressure, the Press and party machines will pluck up courage to erode the campaign and undermine it.

But in this case they have the overwhelming advantage that the issue is a moral issue, not even a sectional appeal for justice, and on this ground none of the parties is in a position to meet it. This is one of the notes which most frightens the professionals.

Another is the growing anti-politicism of the public. This is condemned both by angry demagogues who accuse the organisers of demagogy, and by those who fear that it may set a precedent for various Right and Left-wing Poujadismes. That risk is small.

The note of public hostility to the parties and the demand for direct action are, in fact, the two features of the campaign so far which are most likely to succeed in forcing the hand of the leaderships—on a basis of shooting where the yells are loudest, they should be maintained: but they also contain—and this may prove more important in the long run—the beginnings of a large-scale shift of political emphasis away from professionally-run politics towards *ad hoc* political action "by the people, for the people"; a depressing prospect for leaders who see all this activity going on outside their control, with little chance of diverting, outbidding, discrediting or cashing in on it.

FOUR TASKS

The campaign has four immediate tasks, if it is to succeed.

The first is to avoid mistakes, arising from its own diversity, from the tendency of good and inexperienced men to issue manifestos and then divide over them, and from deliberately-set traps.

The second is to maintain public excitement and determination, and to keep its identity. The chief function of marches and so on, apart from a show of strength, is to accustom people to acting together, to expressing views they have long held in private, and finding to their delight that hundreds of others feel the same.

The "holiday" atmosphere of such marches is not surprising. They are holidays from cant, impotence, and the feeling that nothing matters.

The third is to show that it can control votes as well as demonstrations, at least sufficiently to guarantee that the H-bomb issue can jeopardise election results across the ordinary party boundaries.

The fourth, and by far the most important, is to find a lawful but effective form of day-to-day protest which ordinary people can undertake without stopping work and marching, which will hurt the Government but not annoy the neighbours, and which will carry self-evident signs of its success.

The bus boycotts in America and Africa

● ON PAGE SIX

MASS LOBBY

Tuesday May 20

Nuclear Disarmament

9.30 a.m. onwards: Reception Centre open at Alliance Hall, Caxton Street, S.W.1

3.30 to 5.00 p.m.: Provincial Lobby

4.15 p.m.: Clergy assemble at Vestry, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, for

4.45 p.m.: Wreath-laying ceremony at Cenotaph

5.00 p.m.: MASS LOBBY BEGINS

5.00 p.m.: First Central Hall meeting begins

6.00 p.m.: Second Central Hall meeting begins

7.00 p.m.: Third Central Hall meeting begins. Montague Place meeting begins

8.00 p.m.: Fourth Central Hall meeting begins

8.45 p.m.: All from Central Hall and queue assemble at Waterloo Bridge

9.15 p.m.: Procession leaves Waterloo Bridge by way of Aldwych, Kingsway, New Oxford Street, Tottenham Court Road, to Montague Place

9.45 to 10.45 p.m.: Final rally at Montague Place

Coaches will pick up their passengers at Montague Place unless other arrangements are made privately.

● 150 stewards still needed. Attend briefing meeting at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, May 19, at 7.30 p.m.

If you can offer a bed to an out-of-town visitor please let us know

Offers of help in leaflet distribution to Mass Lobby Committee, Pioneer House, 348 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1. TERminus 9278.

DONATIONS PLEASE

to the above address

Human life may end, warns Russell

From a Special Correspondent

THOSE who favour tests say, in effect, declared Earl Russell last Friday: "Let us go on until we see how many cancers and retarded children are produced!"

Over 1,000 persons from North Cardiganshire, Wales, had filled the King's Hall at Aberystwyth to hear Earl Russell, Professor Rotblat and Dr. Pennar Davies discuss the implications of atomic weapons.

The Chairman was Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards, respected leader of the internationally-minded Welsh Youth Movement.

Earl Russell, now 86, and living in North Wales, told the audience that unless the statesmen of the world exhibit more wisdom, we cannot be at all sure that any human beings or even any higher forms of life will continue on our planet.

According to the Gallup Poll in the two months since the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament began, the numbers of those favouring continuing the tests had fallen from 52 to 42 per cent.

Each Government, continued Earl Russell, claimed to be in touch with the best expert opinion. But it was a fact that on many of these matters the opinion of Government experts differed from that of all reputable experts not in Government pay.

Non-Government expert

Dr. Teller in the US, for example, was one non-Government expert who argued, contrary to US Government claims, that major nuclear tests could be detected all over the world with simple monitoring systems.

Dr. Teller is sometimes described as the father of the H-bomb, although, added Earl Russell, "I should have said that the H-bomb had a different father."

As long as any nuclear weapons exist, we can have no confidence that life will go on for more than a year or two.

"We are in a world where all may live or all must die. We can no longer choose that our enemies should die and we shall live. In this situation there is one thing we must all continue to do: *Remember your humanity* and forget the rest:"

The audience was greatly impressed by the clear and authoritative review of the hazards of nuclear weapons presented by Professor Rotblat, Executive President of the British Atomic Scientists' Association.

No 'Clean' bomb

As the major nuclear tests had revealed the essential features of the new weapons and stimulated further weapons research, he said, stopping of the tests could help halt the arms race.

"There is no such thing as a 'clean bomb,'" Prof. Rotblat declared. The Americans claimed a bomb in which 96 per cent. of the energy comes from the "clean" fission process. "But the radio-activity produced by this is still 25 times that of the Hiroshima weapon, whose fall-out killed many thousands by its effects.

"In a nuclear war the 'dirty' bomb would almost certainly be used, if only because weight for weight, they are appreciably more powerful than 'clean' ones. Delivery by rocket puts a premium on minimum weight."

The situation was urgent. The world would soon be spending annually on nuclear arms 14 times the total British budget, he stated.

Dr. Pennar Davies, Principal of the Brecon Theological College, expressed the hope that Wales, one of the smallest of the European family of nations, might be the first to show, by a notable majority, her detestation of these atomic weapons and her readiness to renounce them.

The meeting nearly unanimously passed a resolution calling for, pending top-level discussions, unilateral abandonment of British H-bomb tests, the flight of H-bombers, and the construction of missile bases.

ALL SET FOR MASS LOBBY

Peace News Reporter

NEARLY 1,250,000 leaflets have been distributed throughout the country urging people to take part in the Mass Lobby at the House of Commons on Tuesday, May 20, against the testing, manufacture and storing of nuclear weapons by Britain. The Lobby officially begins at 5 p.m. Organisers predict 10,000 participants.

Canon L. John Collins will chair one of the mass meetings at Central Hall being held in association with the Mass Lobby.

Speakers at the Central Hall meetings and the open-air meeting behind the British Museum later in the evening will include: Joe Richardson and Sydney Hyman, Labour Parliamentary candidates, Mr. Ian Mikardo, MP, Frank Allaun, MP, Stephen Swingler, MP, Dr. Barnett Stross, and other trades union leaders, MPs, and prominent opponents of nuclear weapons.

Lobbyists from Hackney will march, led by the Mayor of Hackney, Alderman B. Cohen, JP, from that borough to the House of Commons. It is expected that other lobbyists may join them *en route*.

Marion Felt, for the Nuclear Disarmament Mass Lobby Committee, told Peace News on Tuesday that she estimated that well over 100 coaches had been chartered to bring lobbyists to London. These had been initiated by local committees of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Peace Pledge Union, and other interested groups.

The coaches will be coming from Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, Lancashire, Cheshire and many areas closer to London.

The Committee hopes that all the people coming from the Provinces will have passed through the House of Commons lobby before 5 p.m. in order to ease the queue later in the evening.

TU SUPPORT

Lobbyists will receive a leaflet asking them to behave in an orderly manner and not to prejudice the effect of the Mass Lobby "by being drawn or provoked into taking part in incidents which might produce unfavourable Press publicity or photographs."

Considerable trade union support has been aroused for the Mass Lobby. This includes official support from over 25 Amalgamated Engineering Union branches, about ten Electrical Trades Union branches, and several branches of the Plumbing Union, the Woodworkers, and the Sheet and Metal Workers.

Trade union leaders supporting the Mass Lobby in their individual capacity include: Alfred Davis (Tobacco Workers); Bob Edwards, MP (Exec. Sec., Chemical Workers); John Horner (Exec. Sec., Fire Brigades Union); Hugh Jenkins (Actors Equity); Harry Knight (Exec. Sec., ASSETT); Stanley Mayne (Exec. Sec., Professional Civil Servants); W. J. Michaels (Blacksmiths); Jim Mortimer (AESD); E. A. Roberts (AEU); Fred Ponge (ACTT); E. J. Turner (ETU).

The Mass Lobby is fully supported by the London Co-operative Party Political Committee, which has made office facilities available.

It is expected that The Rev. Michael Scott, Rabbi Andre Ungar (Settlement Synagogue, London), Dr. Donald Soper and Baptist and Congregational clergy will be among those taking part in the wreath-laying ceremony at the Cenotaph at 4.45 p.m.

Clergymen wishing to take part also should meet in the Vestry of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, at 4.15 p.m. robed with whatever habit they think appropriate. Following the ceremony they will go to the House of Commons to officially open the lobby .

To make it clear that the lobby represents a cross-section of the people of this country, the Committee has asked people to come wearing the clothes peculiar to their particular occupation, for example: robes, badges of office, cassocks, gowns and mortarboards, overalls, pit lamps, white coats, nurses uniforms. People from other parts of the Commonwealth are expected to come in their national dress.

A band will lead the march at 9 p.m. from Temple Place, near Temple Underground Station, to the open-air meeting at Montague Place, behind the British Museum.

The march will proceed via Kingsway, Aldwych, New Oxford Street, Tottenham Court Rd., Bayley St., to Montague Place.

Lobbyists intending to take part in the evening march may store their banners during the day in a caravan which will be parked in Tothill Street, by Central Hall.

Humphrey Lyttelton, Don Rendel and other members of several of Britain's leading jazz bands will provide music at the open-air meeting as a voluntary contribution to the Campaign.

YOUNG PACIFIST DIES

JOHN BURDON, a young pacifist of 25, who had been a member of the Pacifist Youth Action Group and an active voluntary helper for Peace News, died on May 3.

He was treasurer of the Bow PPU Group and had worked on quietly and courageously for many years in spite of failing health.

Crew sentenced

THE crew of the American H-bomb protest ketch, The Golden Rule, have been sentenced in Honolulu to sixty days imprisonment for "criminal contempt of court."

The sentence followed a finding of guilty by Judge Wiig on the sailing of the Golden Rule for the Eniwetok H-bomb testing area on May 1 in violation of the Court's injunction.

The Judge said that he was referring the conduct of defence attorneys A. L. Wirin and K. Miho to the Bar Association for investigation. He questioned the attorneys on the advice they had given the men after the hearing granting the injunction.

Christopher Nicholson cabled Peace News on Tuesday from Honolulu that an appeal is to be heard in San Francisco on May 21 and that the crew are now on probation.

Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, the sponsoring group for the protest voyage, have issued the following statement:

"The Committee reiterates its full support for and identification with the act of civil disobedience committed by the crew of the Golden Rule. The censoring of our defence attorneys and the jailing of the crew 2,000 miles from the tests under-scores the antagonism of the US Government to all protest actions against continued testing of atomic weapons.

"The crew was jailed on the same day that it was announced that US nuclear tests in the Pacific had started on April 28 with no public announcement. Public protest must strip the secrecy from the activities of the AEC and put an end to the nuclear arms race.

"The Committee will continue its active campaign of non-violent direct action projects in an attempt to arouse the conscience of United States citizens to the need to stop nuclear weapons tests as a first step to disarmament."

A delegation of five persons (Lawrence Scott, of Fallsington, Pa.; Bayard Rustin, of New York City; Mrs. Robert Stone, of Huntington Bay, Long Island; Marvin Gewirtz and Morton Ryweck, both of New York City) representing NVAANW are in Helsinki awaiting visas to enter the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union Embassy in Washington, DC, has reported that the visas will be granted. The delegation will ask for unconditional cessation of nuclear weapons testing by the Soviet Government.

During a protest demonstration in New York City sponsored by the Committee during the mock air raid alert, nine persons were arrested and given 30-day jail sentences which were suspended.

Other public protest actions took place that week in London, Montreal, Portland, San Francisco, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia.

MASS MEETINGS FOR MANCHESTER

ALL tickets for Manchester's Free Trade Hall mass meeting next Wednesday in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have been sold or are in the hands of individual distributors. Speakers will be Canon Collins, Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, Sir Stephen King-Hall, A. J. P. Taylor, Horace Newbold, Secretary of the Manchester Trades Council, and the two Presidents of the Manchester University Unions. The Chairman will be the Bishop of Manchester.

A parallel meeting with the same speakers in person will be held across the road in the Albert Hall, with Professor W. J. M. Mackenzie in the chair.

The Manchester Committee has planned the meetings as "the beginning of a new phase of active campaigning in the north." An impressive send-off in Manchester is planned for a large northern contingent participating in the nation-wide march on London now scheduled for June 22.

Chairman of the Manchester Executive Committee is Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, who is also a member of the National Executive. Lord Simon, at 78, as full of energy and purpose as ever, is an engineer and scientist. A former Lord Mayor of Manchester, he has sat in both Houses of Parliament and been Chairman of the BBC. Lord Simon has made his home in Didsbury the principal meeting-place of the Executive.

Campaign assessment

● FROM PAGE FIVE

conformed ideally to these requirements. The campaign needs a different form of protest similar in effect. It has the summer holiday season to face, but may with ingenuity be able to turn it to advantage. It stands to gain heavily from a political prosecution now pending.

The political strength of the movement will not be fully evident for a little while. The indications are that with reasonable skill, judgment and luck it is going to succeed.

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JUSTICE for CYPRUS

National demonstration to support the claim for self-determination

Trafalgar Square
Sunday May 18 at 3 p.m.

Speakers:

LORD STRABOLGI
SYDNEY SILVERMAN MP
WILL GRIFFITHS MP
MAURICE ORBACH MP

Chair: FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom
374 Gray's Inn Rd., W.C.1

LETTERS

Rocket base sites

THE Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War has set up a planning group to consider action against the establishment of rocket bases in this country.

It is essential that the group should, as soon as possible, know the location of as many rocket base sites as possible. We should therefore be most grateful for any information on this matter that any of your readers might be able to give us.—**PAT ARROWSMITH, Organising Secretary, The Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4.**

Nuclear disarmament

WHILST appreciating Francis Morgan's letter (Peace News, May 2), I am fully convinced that Nuclear Disarmament gives us a heaven-sent opportunity to work *with* the half-converted, and I believe the pacifist movement will eventually gain from the campaign now in progress all over the country.

In our own area we have come into contact through the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament with groups of people whom otherwise we never should have met. Let us take a step forward with others rather than stand still.—**MURIEL BARNARD, 60 Bushwood, London, E.11.**

Total disarmament

INGE HYDE (Peace News, May 9) appears to have misread my letter.

I perfectly understand why so many people are working for nuclear disarmament, but I do not understand why it is so much more difficult to get keen workers for total disarmament.

Opinions and methods vary; the sincerity of the individual pacifist is not in question. —**FRANCES MORGAN, St. Leonards-on-Sea.**

Opportunity for pacifists

BECAUSE some pacifists believe, as I do, that campaigning for nuclear disarmament is not the way to total disarmament, does not mean that we adopt a "holier than thou" attitude.

To disagree is not necessarily to feel superior, though in this case my own disagreement certainly makes me feel unhappy and anxious, for I see a moment in history when pacifists have an opportunity such as they have never before had, of taking up with all their moral strength and logical force, the challenge of the Government that the choice to-day is total peace or total war. I see that opportunity being wasted on an attempt to achieve a half measure which in my opinion cannot lead to the desired end.

Those who believe that nuclear disarmament is a step towards total disarmament have every right to their conviction and to work in that faith; those of us who are confident that it is a mistaken belief have no alternative but to continue to go on with the struggle against war itself. For once, it seems to us, the Government is right; it is, in fact, "all or nothing."

It is to be hoped that within the Peace Pledge Union we can all continue to interpret the pledge each in the light of his own conscience without abusing each other if the light happens to shine in different ways. —**SYBIL MORRISON, 6 Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.**

Angry Young Men

IN his review of my book "Evolution for Beginners," "T.R.D." seems to imply that the Angry Young Man movement consists of irresponsible intellectual Teddy Boys. This is a common error.

The core of the movement, represented by such writers as Colin Wilson and Stuart Holroyd, is essentially religious and anti-materialistic. The AYM really symbolises a change of literary climate—for the better. —**MICHAEL BYROM, Little Thatch, Bovey Tracey, Devon.**

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Disarmament candidates

THE letter of Rhoda Clarke (Peace News, May 2) is as realistic as it is pithy. The letter following hers (Bernard Clark) is quite lacking in realism. Votes in an election for the most sincere Anti-Bomb Labour candidate could, at most, help only to put in power the Pro-Bomb Labour leaders, which from this standpoint would be no advance at all. Consequently, these Pro-Bomb leaders at present can regard the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign with cynical complacency.

If, however, a number of prominent individuals would stand as Unilateral Disarmament candidates, independent of all the established parties, they could probably obtain sufficient votes, even if they were not elected, to make some dent in this complacency.—**LEONARD TOMKINSON, 144 Muswell Hill Rd., London, N.10.**

Pacifist vote

THE Labour Peace Fellowship believes that the Labour Party may be transformed into a pacifist party, and peradventure, even into a socialist party.

Since such transformation is obviously more likely to happen while the party is in opposition than in office, I would, if I were under a similar delusion, be anxious to keep it out of power until it changed, and would till then, in the absence of socialist candidates, vote Conservative in the meantime.

However, I put my trust in the Labour Party being returned to office and discrediting itself as a necessary prelude to building a Pacifist-Socialist Party.

I shall in the absence of a satisfactory candidate write "pacifist" on my ballot paper. I urge pacifists, socialist or otherwise, to do the same.—**LAURENS OTTER, Canadian Ave., London, S.E.6.**

CYPRUS: the time for decision

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

PEACE or war in Cyprus hangs in the balance. For a year, except for isolated acts of violence, there has been a truce.

But if the talks which the Governor, Sir Hugh Foot, has been having this week with the British Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary and Colonial Secretary do not offer hope of self-determination a renewal of violence on an extended scale is certain.

In both Cyprus and at Westminster the opponents of the Government's policy have been very patient. From April, 1957, to April of this year not a single attack on a British soldier or civilian occurred on the island. The only killings were of Cypriot by Cypriot.

At Westminster the Foreign Secretary and the Colonial Secretary gave repeated hints that delicate discussions were proceeding. The Opposition withheld criticism largely from respect for Sir Hugh Foot, who began his Governorship with courageous reconciliation. Three months have passed with assurances nearly every week that whilst the moment was not opportune for a statement, an announcement of policy would be made as soon as possible. One got the impression that behind the scenes critical talks were proceeding which might be ruined by any unwise word.

I am not sure we have not been bluffed. I can say categorically that no discussions have taken place with the Greek Government or with Archbishop Makarios and his associates since Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and Sir Hugh Foot were in Athens in February.

The Turkish Foreign Secretary has seen the British Ambassador at Ankara, but I understand that was to convey Turkish views to Britain rather than to hear Britain's views.

If any conversations have gone on, my guess is that they have been concerned not so much with the freedom of Cyprus as with the relationship of Cyprus to East-West military strategy. Turkey must not be offended because she is the key to Middle East defence against Russia. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has been talking with Mr. Foster Dulles, the American Secretary of State, and M. Spaak, head of NATO, rather than with anyone who can speak for the people of Cyprus.

Makarios must return

Once again this proves how the cause of freedom is bedevilled by the arms preparations alleged to be made for the defence of freedom. I am afraid American influence, despite its boasted anti-colonialism, will be exerted against Cyprus. Turkey is Washington's favourite protégé, and I hear that Greece has lost favour because of popular opposition to the proposal that rocket missile bases should be set up on its territory.

I have no doubt that many despatches have been passing between Sir Hugh Foot and Mr. Lennox-Boyd. Despite disappointment that the February talks led to no results, Sir Hugh is still widely trusted in Cyprus. His present discussions in London are regarded with hope. But the warning should be given that the fund of goodwill which he created when he became Governor will not surmount another failure. This may be the last chance for a peaceful settlement.

What should be done?

I have had a long talk this week with a Cypriot who knows from the inside what is happening and who has just returned from Athens. He insists that if the position is not to deteriorate in Cyprus, the first step must be to allow Archbishop Makarios to return to the island.

This step would not only create a psychology of goodwill; the Archbishop is the only person who can prevent the recurrence of violence.

There is no doubt at all among those who know him that his influence would be directed to this end. I think it likely that Sir Hugh Foot would support this step, but the unbending attitude of Mr. Lennox-Boyd and the pro-Turkish Americanism of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd may make Government concurrence difficult.

The return of the Archbishop would no doubt be resented by the leaders of the Turkish minority, but the news which I receive from Cyprus indicates that among the population the Greek-Turkish tension is decreasing. This year's May Day Demonstration was remarkable for the procession in which Greek and Turkish workers marched side by side in solidarity, and their contingents were actually headed by Greek and Turkish flags which were applauded by the spectators of both races.

Self-determination

The antagonism between the Greeks and Turks on the island has been created artificially as a consequence of British policy during the last three years and by incitement from Turkey.

It is not fundamental, and if a period of accepted stability could be initiated there would be hope that the goodwill of the days before the Emergency could be recreated.

This leads one to suggest the second step. There should be a conference with representatives of the Cypriot people, including the Turkish minority. Archbishop Makarios and Dr. Kutchuk should be there, but it is important that the trades unionists of both races who marched together on May Day should be represented.

The summons to the conference should be accompanied by the release of the untried prisoners from the detention camps and the withdrawal of the repressive emergency laws.

The first task of the conference should be to prepare for immediate self-government in which the Turkish minority would be given proportional representation, and their rights—if necessary under international guarantee—safeguarded. Foreign policy and defence might remain under British control, or, better still, we might be prepared to place the island under the trusteeship of the United Nations.

During this period the animosities aroused during the last three years could be expected to lessen if the representatives of both sides acted fairly towards one another. If Sir Hugh Foot remained as Governor his influence would be of immeasurable value to this end.

A period would have to be fixed for full self-determination following upon this experience of self-government.

Here admittedly is the difficulty with the Turks. Their most vociferous leaders are still demanding partition. But no one except the Turks regards this as a practical solution.

The island is too small to hold two Governments. The races are intermingled in its localities and there is no natural geographical boundary. Partition would only intensify racial antagonism as the unhappy experience of Ireland, the Indian sub-continent, Viet-Nam and Germany shows.

On this issue the British Government should not compromise. Its influence should be exerted towards reaching a solution in the round table conference with the Cypriots towards providing the most liberal and definite guarantees under international authority of the representation and rights of the Turkish minority, and to Turkey itself that the island will never be used as a military base which might menace its territory. The historical fear of Greeks, the new fear that the Greeks might become Communists, is strong in Turkey.

What Britain must do

New defence developments have caused Britain to give up the idea that Cyprus any more than Malta can remain an effective military base in West-East strategy. The most that is claimed is that a rocket base could be established in some locality in the island.

Even that, from a practical point of view, must depend upon the consent and goodwill of the people. And, as a matter of principle, reasonable public opinion would not accept the view that we have any right to impose upon any territory a base for nuclear weapons which would invite complete annihilation as a retaliation. This would be the last word in the denial of the freedom of a people.

The time has come for decision. For a year, during the truce in Cyprus, the British Government has procrastinated. The Opposition has overstrained itself in patience. We cannot be silent any longer.

There are risks in the policy which I have outlined, but they are less than the risks of a renewed conflict with the majority of the population of Cyprus. Britain should now stand boldly for the principles of freedom and self-determination which we claim to accept and which are the basis of the Charter of the United Nations.

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PARTNERSHIP IN A COFFIN

N. Rhodesian Africans to boycott Federal elections

THE Africans of Northern Rhodesia have no confidence in their white rulers. This warning was contained in a long statement to the Press recently by Mr. Harry M. Nkumbula, the President of the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia.

He strongly criticised the British Government for consistently siding with the white minority against the African people.

"It is long overdue, I think," he declared, "that Her Majesty's Government should be told that the confidence of the Africans of Northern Rhodesia in the Queen's Government in the United Kingdom has been strained to the breaking point."

Mr. Nkumbula's statement to the Press was occasioned by the Constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia.

The British Government on Sept. 3, 1953 had "sold the Africans of Central Africa to a fierce white minority" by imposing the Federation despite the Africans' "expressed fear and anxiety."

Federation had been carried out "to sabotage any hopes of the Africans for self-determination" and to keep the European minority perpetually in power.

The European minority in Northern Rhodesia were serving the economic interests of the British government "to exploit the natural resources of our country."

Constitution amended

Just as the British Government had imposed the Federation in Central Africa on millions of Africans, so it had turned over political power in 1910 to the white minority in South Africa.

"The Nationalist Government in South Africa are only sharing the booty they were given on a plate by the British Government."

The constitution adopted four years ago for the Federation stated there would be no amendment to it until 1960.

"But three years before the time of review the constitution has been amended twice in six months." These were the Constitution Amendment Bill and the Federal Electoral Bill.

The first Bill enlarges the Federal Assembly from 35 to 59 seats, only 15 of which will be held by Africans. Of these 15, "only four will be elected by popular vote which will be predominantly European and the rest will find their way in the Federal Assembly by indirect vicious methods."

The Federal Electoral Bill sets qualifications for voting "so scandalously high that there will hardly be any Africans on the common roll, or if some will get on to it, they will be so few that they cannot elect a candidate into Parliament."

If the economic situation deteriorated seriously, the result would be that Africans would not be able to meet income or property voting qualifications; it was possible that by 1969 "African representation in both the Legislative Council and Executive Council shall not exist."

These constitutional amendments had been accepted by the British Government despite the strong protests of the African Affairs Board which had been established to safeguard African interests.

Only a fool would believe in the British guarantees and safeguards. "They are meaningless and useless," declared Mr. Nkumbula. "They are used as opium to sabotage the struggle of the subject races against foreign rule and domination."

Visiting British MPs had often returned home with false reports on the liberalism of the whites in Central Africa or improvements in race relations. The facts were to the contrary.

"Whether they like it or not, the British public must be told that there is nothing like British justice and fair play in the Federation.

"We have a group of reactionary Europeans here dictating policy which Her Majesty's Government dare not oppose. This group is bent on getting political, economic and social rights to the exclusion of the Africans."

Congress banned

"The partnership idea is nothing and will soon find its way to a prepared coffin," he said, and be replaced by paramountcy of European interests.

The African National Congress had already been banned in six districts and "a serious campaign" by the Government is going on throughout the protectorate to ban the Congress.

"The psychology behind the proposed constitutional arrangements for the Protectorate," the prominent African leader declared, "is clear domination of the African masses by a tiny group of reactionary Europeans. In this, they have the full support of the Colonial Office."

Mr. Nkumbula concluded his statement: ". . . I wish to state in unequivocal terms that Northern Rhodesia is essentially an African country and that Africans will ultimately govern it." The British Government had an obligation to "train and prepare the Africans of Northern Rhodesia for self-government and independence."

"It will be futile if Northern Rhodesia will be given self-government before there is a majority of elected African members.

"With regard to Federation, the Africans of Northern Rhodesia make no compromise whatsoever and shall demand dismemberment at the time of review in 1960. In view of this, the African National Congress has asked the Africans of Northern Rhodesia to boycott the Federal elections."

New charges against Dolci

DANILO DOLCI, who has been called "the Gandhi of Italy," has been charged in Siena, Italy, with insulting public institutions and spreading false reports likely to disturb public order.

The charges are understood to concern remarks he made during an address to a students' meeting at Siena on April 22.

These charges were brought within a day or two of Dolci's appeal against a suspended sentence of 50 days in prison, imposed on him two years ago. His appeal was indefinitely adjourned by the appeals court at Palermo, Sicily, on Friday, May 2.

He had been convicted by a Palermo court of "unauthorised occupation of common land" and leading a demonstration against unemployment because on Feb. 2, 1956, he and some helpers conducting a "reverse strike" had begun to mend a road which had fallen into a bad state of disrepair.

In a statement on the legal aspects of the Palermo trial (distributed in Britain by the National Peace Council) the writer declares that the authorities intended to obtain a verdict which was essentially a condemnation of the non-violent method.

Passport withdrawn

The Italian Home Secretary, Signor Fernando Tambroni, has withdrawn Dolci's passport after the considerable interest aroused by his recent European tour.

In Stockholm an Association of the Friends of Dolci has been formed to send students of sociology to Sicily. The Swedish "Aftonbladet" reported that "the Italian Government, for reasons of prestige, refuses help from abroad, particularly from Swedish technicians, and prefers to meet the situation with the single contribution of the police."

The Manchester Guardian's Rome correspondent reports: "The point which Dolci has always tried to drive home is that if the police were disarmed and a fraction of what is spent on repression were spent on education, the problem of poverty and delinquency in Sicily would be on the way to solution."

Singing on the march

From a Correspondent

THERE was only one real fiasco at Aldermaston, and that was the official song sheet. One can sympathise with the organisers' aims, but the Englishman, unlike the American, doesn't sing edifying songs, and unlike the Irishman, hasn't any songs of recent currency known to middle-class marchers which symbolise "damn the Government," like the Peeler and the Goat, or the Sean Bhean Bhocht, even when only whistled.

If the troops at Dunkirk sang "Run, rabbit, run!" the folk song collector could give a pretty fair estimate of the kind of song which even a solemn protest against atomic war would produce. It would be ribald, flippant and effective.

If that was what the organisers anticipated, and if they did not want the atmosphere spoiled, they should have brought in a Welsh choir, recalling that one can sing an adaptation of "Once to every Man and Nation" to Bryn Calvaria. That would have damaged the buildings at Aldermaston. Some songs were invented by marchers—others sang everything from "Jerusalem" to the Soldier's Song—none of them really appropriate to the occasion. My choice so far is this (sung by medical students, and in London after the march was over—to "John Brown's Body") it shows mature political insight.

To Hell with all the humbug and to Hell with all the lies,
To Hell with all the Strontium continuing to rise—
To Hell with all the Charlies with a gift for compromise
If they won't ban the H-bomb now
(Chorus)
Ban, ban, ban, ban the H-bomb
Ban, ban, ban the *** H-bomb**
If you want to be alive next year!

Macmillan and the Tories are content to wait and see—
They think the Great Deterrent will secure the victoree—
I don't know if they scare the Reds: by God, they frighten me
If they won't etc.

Gaitskell and Nye Bevan are preparing for a sell—
They want to net the votes and keep the atom bomb as well:
But NATO's going to send us all to shovel—coal—in Hell
If they won't etc.

Oh, half of them are barmy and the other half are blind,
They've all been talking long enough, it's time that they resigned:
And the way to shift a donkey is to wallop its behind
If he won't etc.

Oh, they sent the papers down to say that marching was a farce,
Hailsham rang his handbell and declared "They shall not pass"
But twenty thousand boots went marching straight across his—grass:
Since he won't etc.

We mean to stop the loonies and preserve the human race
We mean to save our country, for we like the dear old place—
We're going to stuff a rocket up Mr. Dulles' base
If they don't etc.

The feet have started marching, and they've only just begun,
We're going to put the fear of Hell in every mother's son—
Aldermaston, Downing Street and Chequers, here we come!
If you don't etc.

Some singers have tried to make the pacifist intention of this song more obvious by singing "Unilateral disarmament!" in the chorus. I preferred it as it is. Another version to the same tune begins:

John Brown's baby's got an extra pair of heads
So we'd better stop the bomb tests now.

This, I'm told, is factually misleading. To the Lie Song I heard:

Oh, over in the States they've got a button painted red
If someone goes and sits on it we'll all of us be dead.

Unfortunately that appears to be true. And then the obvious—

An old politician lay dying,
And as in the ruins he lay
To the folks who around him were frying
This final excuse he did say—

I stood up to all agitation
I stuck to my bombs 'til the end
I defended this nuclear nation
And there's now *** all to defend.**

For the serious minded there are hymns—"Jerusalem" imposes the obligation to find out on which beat of the bar the tune starts, but it has the merit of being recognised and associated with progressive causes. Something might be done with "Shall Trelawney die?" or Tramp, Tramp, Tramp!

There are possibilities in:

Two, two, the Heavenly Twins
Gaitskell and Macmillan, oh:
One is unilateral and ever more shall be so!

But in future let us leave it to the marchers. They will find their own songs. It may be that in a century, if we succeed, other demonstrators in another cause will adapt our songs. If we fail there may not be anyone left to sing.

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Public Meeting

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CHAIRMAN:-
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Standing Joint Pacifist Committee

DIARY

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1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, May 16

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. 15 Kenmore Cres., Filton Park (near B.A.C. Playing Field). Discussion on future activities and pamphlet "What is Pacifism?" PPU.

EPSOM: 7.30 p.m.; Lecture Hall, Upper High St. Public Meeting. "The Great Deterrent?" Alex Comfort, MRCS, LRCP, and John Loverseed, AFC. Epsom & District Peace Fellowship.

GREENWICH: 8 p.m. Cecil Rooms, Woolwich Rd. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Public Meeting. Cllr. Peggy Middleton, John Horner, Mervyn Jones.

HOUNSLOW: 8 p.m. Town Hall. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Frank Beswick, MP, Prof. E. H. Burhop, Rev. R. D. Redman. Discussion.

LONDON, E.17: 8.15 p.m. Marsh St. Church Hall, Walthamstow (opposite High St. Library). "Any Questions" on Nuclear Disarmament. Panel: Doctor, Radiographer, Teacher and Clergyman. Walthamstow Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

PLYMOUTH: 7.30 p.m.; Central Library. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Public Meeting. Speakers: Michael Foot, John Foot, Alan Gibson, Rev. T. J. Foinette, and Rev. J. W. G. Molland. Chairman: L. S. Pawley.

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m.; City Hall. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Public Meeting. Speakers: Canon Collins and A. J. P. Taylor. Adm. 6d.

WEST HAM: 8 p.m. Canning Town Public Hall, Barking Rd. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Dr. Peter Astbury, Jill Craigie.

Saturday, May 17

BRENTWOOD: 7.45 p.m. Congregational Hall. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Speakers: Dr. Alex Comfort, Dr. Nicholas Malleson; supporting the Campaign in a Brains Trust.

LETCHWORTH: 3 p.m.; Gernon Lodge School. Area Meeting—Fellowship of Reconciliation. Speaker: Rev. Eric Pyle, MA, "The Christian Alternative to War."

LONDON, S.E.13: 8 p.m. St. Mark's Vicarage, Clarendon Rise, Lewisham. Symposium: "Why I am/am not a Pacifist." Pacifists and non-pacifists invited to speak. FoR.

LONDON, S.W.1: 2.15 p.m. Tudor Room, Caxton Hall, Westminster. AGM—Labour Peace Fellowship. 2.15—4.40 p.m., Business Meeting. 5.15—7 p.m., Peace Brains Trust: Victor Yates, MP (Chairman), Leslie Hale, MP, James Hudson, Ron Huzzard, Laurie Pavitt. Details from Gen Sec., 24a Breakspears Rd., S.E.4.

LONDON, W.C.2: 3.30 p.m.; Trafalgar Sq. Meeting. "The Challenge of the H-bomb." Speakers: Leslie Hale, MP, Rev. Clifford Macquire, Stuart Morris, Canon T. B. Scrutton, Carol Taylor. Chairman: Sybil Morrison. Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Sunday, May 18

LEEDS: 2.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House (behind BBC). Discussion on pamphlet "What is Pacifism?" Pacifist Youth Action Group.

LONDON: 3 p.m. Trafalgar Sq. National Demonstration: "Justice for Cyprus," to support the claim for Self-determination. Movement for Colonial Freedom.

LONDON, W.C.1: 4 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq. Movement for a Pacifist Church. Raymond Robinson on "Club work in Hoxton."

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.; Tudor Room, Shaftesbury Hotel, Monmouth St. Eighth Lecture in "Non-violence and Social Change" series: A. "Unarmed Strategy"; B. "The Constructive Programme." Gene Sharp, MA. Free admission; collection. The 1957 Committee.

Pilgrimage to Kent and Open Air Service. Coach leaves Vauxhall Bdge. Rd., Victoria, opposite Woolworths, 10 a.m. Please bring lunch. PPU Religion Commission.

Monday, May 19

BIRMINGHAM: 7.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bull St. Film: "Shadow of Hiroshima". Members and friends welcome. W. Midlands Area PPU.

COLCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall. Rev. Michael Scott and other speakers on Nuclear Disarmament. FoR and SoF.

ILFORD: 8.5 p.m. Lambourne Room, Ilford Town Hall. "Youth & the H-Bomb." Speakers: Miss Irene Jacoby, William Crampton, Mervyn Jones. Ilford Peace Movement.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 p.m.; Nancy Rouse, 47 Witley Court, Woburn Pl. PPU Central London Group Meeting. Speaker: Hilda Von Klenze, "Non-Violence." Refreshments.

WELLING, Kent: 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High St. Film: "Shadow of Hiroshima". L. H. Wells, BSc. Chairman: Rev. C. W. Wesley Heming. Admission Free. Committee for Nuclear Disarmament.

Tuesday, May 20

BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m. 25 Vernon Terr., Seven Dials. AGM of PPU Group.

Wednesday, May 21

LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m. Church Parlour, Independent Church, Knights Lane (next Edmonton Town Hall). AGM of PPU Group. Arlo Tatum, WRI. All welcome.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Free Trade Hall and Albert Hall. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Canon L. John Collins, Sir Stephen King-Hall, A. J. P. Taylor; Chairman: the Bishop of Manchester. Tickets 1s. from CND, 32 Deansgate, Manchester, 3.

Thursday, May 22

ENFIELD: 8 p.m. Enfield County School Hall, Holly Walk (back of Market). Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Film ("Japanese Fishermen") and Public Meeting: Dr. Alex Comfort, Dr. S. Galin, Michael Randle, R. L. Williams.

LONDON, E.: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Bush Rd., Leytonstone (near Green Man). "Old People's Welfare"; Ivy Taylor. E.10 and E.11 PPU.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m. Arlo Tatum's home, 33 Devonshire Rd., Palmers Green. "Was the AGM right?": Discussion, new PPU Group.

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m. Please note change of address to 20 Belsize Park Gardens (near Belsize Park Und.). Eleanore Loescher: "Quaker Work in Germany." PPU.

Friday, May 23

LONDON, S.W.6: Fulham Town Hall (opp. Fulham B'dway Und.): London Local Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors. 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Public admitted.

Saturday, May 24

LONDON, E.C.4: 2.30 p.m. St. Paul's Cathedral. Dedication Service for Women's Caravan of Peace: Canon Collins. 3.15 p.m., Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Meeting.

FONTEFRACT, Yorks: 10 a.m.; Featherstone—Pontefract—Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Protest March: speeches and refreshments. Details: David Simpson, 1 Dorchester Ave., Pontefract.

The base that Mac built

By SAGITTARIUS

Forty-seven MPs have now demanded of Prime Minister Macmillan that missile bases must be opposed outright.—News item.

THIS is the base that Mac built.

This is the Thor
To fly from the base that Mac built.

This is the site
To launch the Thor,
To fly from the base that Mac built.

This is the right
To lend the site
To launch the Thor,
To fly from the base that Mac built.

This is the fight
To end the right
To lend the site
To launch the Thor,
To fly from the base that Mac built.

This is the Anglo-U.S. pact,
That started the fight
To end the right
To lend the site
To launch the Thor,
To fly from the base that Mac built.

This is the warhead to be stacked
By terms of the Anglo-U.S. pact,
That started the fight
To end the right
To lend the site
To launch the Thor,
To fly from the base that Mac built.

This is the pledge by MPs backed,
To veto the warheads to be stacked,
By terms of the Anglo-U.S. pact,
That started the fight
To end the right
To lend the site
To launch the Thor,
To fly from the base that Mac built.

This is the suicidal act,
Condemned in the pledge by the MPs backed,
To veto the warheads to be stacked,
By terms of the Anglo-U.S. pact,
That started the fight
To end the right
To lend the site
To launch the Thor,
To fly from the base that Mac built.

THIS is the now accomplished fact,
To many, a suicidal act,
Condemned in the pledge by MPs backed,
To veto the warheads to be stacked,
By terms of the Anglo-U.S. pact,
That started the fight
To end the right
To lend the site
To launch the Thor,
To fly from the base that Mac built.

(With acknowledgements to the U.S. magazine "The New Republic")

Eight portraits against tyranny and war

Christians in the Arena, by Allan A. Hunter. Nyack, New York, Fellowship Publications, $1.50. London, Housmans.

FROM the American Fellowship of Reconciliation comes this attractive and well written paperback. It contains eight short biographies, the true stories of contemporary men and women who have brought a living faith in the gospel of love to bear against the two great evils of our time—war and totalitarian tyranny.

The selection of the eight is interesting: three are German, Martin Niemöller, Heinrich Grueber and Wilhelm Mensching; two are French, André Trocmé and Philippe Vernier; two British, Kathleen Lonsdale and Donald Soper, and one Dutch woman, Suzanna W.

Among pacifists most of the names will be well known; they have won deserved acknowledgement of their determination and steadfastness. There is something particularly appealing, however, about the two brief stories of the one whose surname is not given because it would be quite unknown.

The first tells how she reacted when, during the occupation of her country, an officer of the Gestapo called on her because he belonged to the same religious denomination as she did—the Reformed Church; the other how she fared in more familiar circumstances—a domestic quarrel with a tenant in her house.

We mostly have to learn, as she did, "that the struggle against totalitarianism and war is far more profound and protracted than it might at first seem. The enemy isn't just those few in power on the other side of a boundary line. The enemy is an attitude, and that attitude may have *us* by the throat."

In an over-adjusted society

Inner Liberty, by Peter Viereck.

John Woolman and the 20th Century, by Reginald Reynolds. Pendle Hill Pamphlets. 35 cents each.

THE sub-title of the first of these latest pamphlets from Pendle Hill is "the stubborn grit in the machine." That sounds undesirable, but the author is in favour of it.

One of the magical words of present-day America (and only too common in Britain) is "well-adjusted." To so describe a man means that he fits in with the ideas and conventions of the society in which he lives and has no eccentric notions or habits. He is the complete conformist.

This, says Peter Viereck, has produced the over-adjusted society in which it is difficult to be those most desirable of things, an amateur, a non-conformist, and a free personality, but these are the essential elements of any free society.

Reginald Reynolds' affection for John Woolman is well known; many will have read his book "The Wisdom of John Woolman." In this pamphlet he tries to direct to twentieth century problems the attitude to life that the old Quaker showed: what he calls his "imaginative capacity." As it was originally addressed to an American audience, it comments specifically on such matters as the colour bar, but that does not make it any less interesting to British readers.

NOTEBOOK

More challenge please

THE 37th Annual Goodwill Message of the children of Wales will be broadcast to the children of the world on May 18 in the BBC's Welsh Region Children's Hour Programme at 5 p.m., and also from other countries.

A booklet published by The Welsh Children's Goodwill Message Committee from the Temple of Peace, Cardiff, prints the message in Russian, Chinese, Esperanto, Modern Hebrew, Latin, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese.

The idea of the broadcast is fine, but is the message challenging enough? The adults who drew it up ask the children to say that they want to "be strengthened to help our leaders in every land to give us a world free from fear, war and want."

I fear their leaders don't need to be helped; they need to be by-passed.

Perhaps next year the message can read: "Let us therefore pray that we may be strengthened to help those in every land who are determined to build up a world free from fear, war, and want."

Hut at St. Martins

THE Refugee Hut erected at St. Martin-in-the-Fields Church this week is part of the campaign by Inter-Church Aid to show the public the conditions under which thousands of refugees have to live in the nuclear age.

Wolrd War II CO and well-known poster designer Maurice Rickards is in charge of this presentation, having been sent out to Austria to acquaint himself at first hand with conditions there.

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TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., Londn, N.4

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning.

Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

MEETINGS

'ETHICS OF FOOD': Ronald Lightowler (L.V.S.). Caxton Hall; Monday, May 19, 7.30. 2s. 6d. London Natural Health Society.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District, Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with views of fells.—Isabel James. Telephone: Grasmere 334.

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PERSONAL

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Every week!

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m.; Hyde Park, Speakers' Corner. Pacifist Forum.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
6, Endsleigh Street — London, W.C.1

BOOKS FOR AFRICA

Large numbers of text and library books have been sent to Mrs. Coleman's African Secondary School in Rhodesia as a result of PEACE NEWS appeals.

Many more are being received and could be sent if funds to cover postage were available.

Contributions and offers to send books direct will be welcomed by—

LEONARD TOMKINSON,
144 Muswell Hill Road - London, N.10

PEACE NEWS

STRIKE AGAINST MASS MURDER

WE'RE BOOKED FOR EXTINCTION.

Millions of us all over the world are going to be wiped right out. And look who are going to be the butchers: WE ARE. The blood will be on our hands.

That's your H-bomb and rocket policies. Forget the pious hopes of our "leaders." Face the stark truth: the end's in sight.

So what are we going to do?

Something democratic? Yes. Something decent? Sure. Something PRACTICAL? That's the big point.

What does all this point to? Industrial action!

We put the MP's in every five years—but that alone isn't democracy.

We've got to help make these vital decisions ourselves. If we don't participate, if we don't take responsibility—our democracy's dead.

Totalitarian regimes claim they don't need opposition parties because the totalitarian party IS the people. Democratic politicians claim that people don't need action outside the constitution because Parliament IS democracy.

Both claims are false.

HELL

What if the officials and representatives don't respond to the people's will?

Then the people are plunged into disaster.

Before this happens we've got to act, to say "No." It's our human duty. AND OUR DEMOCRATIC RESPONSIBILITY.

We said the Germans should have kicked out Hitler and his thugs. Now it's our job to stop the mass-murder planners.

They claim to be our elected leaders, but they've never even dreamt of asking our permission to make atom bombs. We've just been ignored while they rush on in their madness. Let's face it: we're expendable.

Not even the House of Commons has voted on whether the Government should hasten the end of everything.

So that's good-bye to their claim that these plans are all democratic. Now what about a few claims from the people?

All the parties make a great to-do about the minor variations in their foreign policies. And all of them make sure we're gagged. If we ask them to think again, or wait for something else to turn up, it will probably be too late. How can we waste time when we're at the gates of hell?

By "Compass"

The men in power are tied to past policies. They can't face the fact they've made the biggest mistake in history. In politics the last thing you do is admit you were wrong. And when you're tied to A-bombs, rockets, missiles and H-bombs, that's the end of your social vision. You're lost in illusions of greatness as outdated as the horse-and-trap. You're blind to reality.

So we've got no immediate way of stopping Parliament. They're threatening the country with suicide, and the world with genocide. And time is running out.

Are we going to sit back, feel helpless, and wash our hands of everything? Is that manly—or democratic?

So we're driven to our last democratic means. Industrial action can stop this crime, just as individuals can refuse to do what they know is wrong.

It's our duty to refuse to provide the man-power. Refuse to sell our skill. Reject genocide. Withdraw our labour and save mankind yet.

What does this mean? First, we must black the H-rocket sites and the H-bombs. Refuse to work on them. Then, as soon as the workers arouse themselves on this life-and-death issue, get out on a General Strike to force the Government—of whatever party—to abandon its madness.

If strikes are justified over wages, why not over life or death for all humanity? And our political life would be a lot healthier. We'd get back some of the democracy they keep talking about.

Governments which forbid strikes are called dictatorships—Nazi Germany, Stalin's Russia, Franco's Spain. Dictators want people to believe that striking for their rights is "undemocratic," "counter-revolutionary" or "Bolshevik." Or just plain unnecessary.

But the right to strike is a pillar of democracy. When the constitution can't save mankind, it's right and obvious—sooner or later we've got to strike against plans for extermination.

ACTION

Our time is nearly up. Action today is twice as effective as action tomorrow. In the final days of panic and desperation it'll be too late. If the Germans had little excuse for tolerating Nazi systematic exterminations, what excuse have we?

The hour of decision approaches. If our hearts and minds are stirred by the threat of total obliteration, if we are still human, there must be action while there is still hope.

Agitate without rest.

The rocket sites must be deserted, the death factories left idle. Remember—the Labour Movement in Britain at one time stood for a General Strike against war.

It is high time we had this policy back.

Then we would kill the war—not our fellow men.

By Sybil Morrison

Christian commonsense

It is idle to ask whether we can imagine the Founder of Christianity as the pilot of an H-bomber carrying one of these horrible weapons to its target . . . His principles have to be interpreted by commonsense . . . Would Christ be a pacifist if instead of living 2,000 years ago as a Jewish carpenter He was now a statesman responsible for a great commonwealth? The idea that you can convert the Russians by smiling at them is far far away from reality. Having provided us with a deterrent to aggressors, it may well be that God expects us to be prepared to use it. —The Rev. Frank Martin, Sunday Graphic. April, 1958.

THE article from which this extract is taken has only recently come into my hands, and the cutting sent to me was undated; nevertheless, references in it to the Aldermaston March indicate that it was written during the last few weeks.

To say that Christian principles need to be interpreted by commonsense seems to imply that they are lacking, in themselves, in commonsense. Since the Rev. Mr. Martin's idea of commonsense appears to be a willingness to make preparations for blowing the whole world to pieces, it is perhaps pertinent to ask him what is his idea of insanity, let alone what such "commonsense" as this has to do with the teaching of the Founder of the Christian Church.

Smiling at the Russians may sound ridiculous, and it is probable that Mr. Martin intended it to appear ridiculous; but the equivalent of smiling at them is to attempt to turn them from enemies into friends, and commonsense should tell us that this will never be achieved by threatening to destroy them.

Christian countries are producing weapons from which radio-active rays will flash through the bodies of human beings, men, women and children, destroying the blood corpuscles, the bones and the muscles, weapons by which millions of people will die lingering and tortured deaths, and millions more disintegrate into dust and ashes in split seconds. It seems a poor way, and indeed an insane way to attempt to convert anyone to Christianity.

It is true that to many Jesus was just a Jewish carpenter who taught a new doctrine, but to millions, and it is to be assumed to Mr. Martin, he was the Son of God, and brought to earth a divine message for the world, a message of brotherhood and love.

It would have seemed likely that a minister of the Christian Church would have believed the latter; but whatever is believed, it is obvious that what Jesus said did not become true because He said it; on the contrary, He said it because it *was* true, and touch it where you will, even today, it rings true.

The fact that there was no H-bomb in those crucial days in Palestine 2,000 years ago, does not alter the principles of the doctrine taught by Jesus; even in that era there were weapons and tyrannies, cruelties and enslavement. It is not at all idle to ask whether He would have taken up weapons to fight those tyrannies and overthrow the regime that believed in torture and slavery, simply because he has already given the answer:

"Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and He shall presently give more than twelve legions of angels?"

This He could have done, but He did not, for if He had, how could His doctrine of "love your enemies" have been fulfilled?

What is idle is to attempt to evade the real issues involved, by pretending that He would teach anything different today than what He taught then, for the Christian ethic would indeed die if it were to depend upon living in one particular century or upon any particular circumstance.

The needs and hopes of the whole human race may well depend upon mankind turning away from reliance upon strength of arms to follow the untried, untrodden way of understanding and goodwill. To be afraid to try it, is to deny the existence of good, and to the Christian it is surely a betrayal of their God.

There is no need to interpret Christianity by commonsense; it *is* commonsense. "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also unto them" is a golden rule, which, if accepted would bring to the world the peace for which it has waited so long.

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